

INDO-IRANICA



Georg Morgenstierne

INDO-IRANICA

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GEORG MORGENSTIERNE
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ālo 'elopement of a married woman', Nep. *urālo jānu* 'to run off (with a girl)', Mth. Bhoj. *uṣharī* 'a woman who has eloped or been carried off forcibly', Hi. *uṣharnā* '(a married woman) to elope with another man', *uṣhārnā* 'to seduce (a married woman)' ~ *uddhal-* in Lah. *uddhalaṇ* 'to elope with', Pj. *uddhalaṇā*, Hi. *udhalnā* 'to be seduced', G. *udhalvū*, Mar. *udhalṇē* 'to run off (of a tenant)'. IE. *uts* may similarly survive in Bashkarik *uṭet* 'fever' < **uṣṭapti-* < **uts-tapti-* ~ Skt. *uttapatē*, *uttapta-* in Pa. Pkt. *uttatta-*, Mar. *utavṇē*, *utatṇē* intr. 'to boil'.

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The Dialects of Alvir and Vidar

In the Kharāqān district of Sāveh, a Turkish-speaking area to the northwest of Qom, there are to be found two villages, Alvir and Vidar, where two closely related Iranian dialects are still spoken. These dialects have not, so far, been recorded.

Alvir is a declining village of some 250 families, about 60 kms. to the northwest of Sāveh. The mudbrick ruins of some abandoned fortifications betray its past importance, while the decreasing and yet disproportionate extent of its industries – ironmongering, carpentry, leather-working, shoe-making, arms-repairing, and dyeing – attest that it was once a more prosperous center of the crafts, as do the nostalgic tales of its elders.

Alvir is divided into three districts: *jirin de*: (Lower Village), *monagāyn mahalla* (Middle District), and *jamālāvā* (Jamāl-ābād), and it includes a number of far-flung farms. Water is provided by three springs, which form a small river, and three *qanats*. The land is owned mainly by the peasants, who grow cereals, potatoes, and some fruit, and keep a small number of animals. Farming, however, cannot sustain the local population, and many seek work in the city.

Turkish, the vernacular of the region, is understood and some times spoken in Alvir, and is almost the sole language of Abbās-ābād, an adjacent village of some 80 families, which derived from Alvir.

I learned of the Alviri dialect in Eshtehārd, about 50 kms. to the northeast of Alvir, in the summer of 1960, when I undertook a more extensive search for Tati dialects¹. I made immediate plans to visit Alvir, where, after interviewing several villagers, I found a reliable informant in Sheikh Musā, the 75-year old local mulla.

It was in Alvir that I first learned of a related dialect in Vidar (locally *viar*), a village of over 200 families, some 12 kms. to the east of Alvir, with similar climate and crops, but lacking the industries of Alvir. Its population is half Turkish-speaking, including the main landlords (*khāns*), and half Vidari-speaking. According to some local accounts, the people of Vidar had earlier been Zoroastrian (*gabr*).

Owing to pressure of time, I dispensed with a trip to Vidar, my attention being drawn to Gholām-Rezā Najjāri, a quiet and precise man of 46 years, who had come to Alvir two years earlier to teach at the local school. He had lived all of his life in Vidar except for five years that he had spent in Tehran qualifying for his position.

¹ Not to be confused with the Tati of Apsheron, near Baku, derived from Persian or a similar dialect.

The people of the two villages have only the most infrequent contact with communities speaking related dialects. Eshtehārdi is vaguely known by some Alviris to be related to their language, owing largely to the roaming peddlars of that village. Sheikh Musā was conscious of the affinity between Alvir and the dialect of Dānesfān in Rāmand².

Despite the fact that Alviri was called Tati by my informants³, the assigning of Alviri, and its close relative, Vidari, to S. Tati poses some questions as to the dividing line between the Tati dialects proper, and the more southern groups of Central dialects, extending from Hamadan to Yazd. The term Tati has in more recent times been applied to a group of broadly related dialects, extending over a vast area between Karingān in the Dizmār district of Azerbaijan, near the Araxes River, and Eshtehārd, some 130 kms to the east of Tehran.

While Alviri and Vidari share some of the main characteristics of S. Tati⁴, they have also features that ally them to the dialects spoken farther to the south. The two dialects come particularly close to the dialects of Vafs, Meime, and Jowsheqān (see below). In vocabulary, however, the two dialects, along with Vafsi, have more in common with S. Tati than with any other dialect group⁵.

My notes, taken perforce in the course of one evening and one day, were meant only to bring out the main features of the two dialects, which I briefly discuss here.

PHONOLOGY

The phonology of Alviri and Vidari offers no particular interest; it follows the Esh(tehārdi) pattern in general. Rounding of *e* and *a*, and palatalizing of round vowels, as well as examples of vowel harmony occur, e.g. Alv. *jēm rēvānda baxanden* 'make this child laugh', *xōšdōneš etā* 'he himself is coming', *bē-jūnden* 'to chew', *kōrūga* '[ironmonger's] fan' (fem.); Vid. *nī-mān kōšte-y* 'we have not killed'⁶.

Notice the unvoicing by assimilation of the initial dental in Vid. *tete* 'thee, thine' (cf. *de-mun* 'me, mine'), *teta* 'daughter'; and the derivation of *-i-* from *-ā-* in Alv. *emina* 'it remains', *ē-rin-ōna* 'we drive'.

² A district to the southwest of Qazvin, with the largest Tati-speaking community (some nine villages). S(outhern) Tati generally refers to their dialects.

³ Cf. Farhang-e Joghgrāfiā'i-e Iran I, 19. Any linguistic inference from such designations, however, should be regarded with particular caution, since the surrounding Turkish-speakers tend to call any Iranian speaking elements among them *Tāt*; cf. Minorsky EI, under 'Tāt'.

⁴ See Tāti Dialects of Rāmand in A Locust's Leg, Studies ... Taqizadeh 1962, 240-245.

⁵ Note, e.g., Alv(iri), *teta* 'daughter', *cārvā* 'sheep', *hivar* 'husband's brother', *zira* 'yesterday', *vaz/vašt* 'to run', *a-kar-* 'to open', *gu-/gust-* 'to want (to)', *ānāy* 'now', *ā-pendar* 'stay!', *borbon* 'cry!'

⁶ *ē* and *ō* sound generally alike; the distinction refers to their variants.

MORPHOLOGY

Nouns

Gender. Alviri distinguishes a masculine and a feminine gender in nouns, in the 3rd pers. sing. of the personal pronoun, in demonstrative adjectives and pronouns, in the 3rd pers. sing. of all tenses of intransitive verb, and of the Present and Subjunctive of transitive verbs, i. e. where the passive construction is not involved. The common indicator of the fem. gender is an unstressed *-a*⁷. Examples: *pure Hasan etā(y)*, *evaza* 'H.'s son is coming, running', but *tele-y Hasan etāya*, *evazia* 'H.'s daughter is coming, running'; *am zimin xub nī* 'this land is not good', but *ama oka⁸ xub nīa* 'this water is not good'; *u demen-i* 'he/that is mine', but *ūa demen-ia* 'she/that is mine'; *jem/ju-de āgir* 'take from this/that', but *jema/jua zanīa-de* 'from this/that woman'; *eš-egua bā* 'he wants to come', but *eš-egua bāya* 'she wants to come'; *deš-darda ešu/eši* 'he/she was going'; *bomu⁹ bu/bomī bi* 'he/she had come'; *āykara/āykaria* 'he/she opens'.

Vidari, on the other hand, like Meime'i, Khunsāri, Mahallāti, and some Northern Tati dialects¹⁰, makes no distinction of gender whatever: *am zāk¹¹ demun-a* 'this boy is mine', *am kanek¹¹ demun-a* 'this girl is mine'¹².

Number. The only plural sign is *-hā*, common in southern Central dialects, and appearing already in Esh. among the S. Tati group for the direct plural as against *-un*, *-on* for the oblique; Alv. *kebābe cārvā-hā bapacāyā* 'cook ye the kidneys of the sheep'. *-hā* is also used with the 3rd pers. pl. of the personal pronouns in Alviri (see below)¹³.

Cases. Although Alviri shows itself conservative in the preservation of the gender distinction, it has, unlike S. Tati, Vafsi and Nāini, kept no trace of any

⁷ This does not apply, however, to verbs with a final stem vowel, which tend to be irregular; in my recorded examples, where the masc. verb ends in *-u*, the fem. replaces *-u* by *-i*: *bašu/baši* 'he/she went', *bomu/bomī* 'he/she came', *bu/bi* 'he/she was'. Where the masc. ends in *-a*, the fem. ends in *-ia*, as is often the case in S. Tati.

⁸ Fem., as in S. Tati. Notice the occurrence of the fem. morpheme *-a* after the suffix *-k* (cf. Vid. *zāk* 'boy') also in *sōka* 'night'.

⁹ *-u* in *bomu* is here produced by the influence of *bu*; other persons regularly have *bomī* in Pluperfect.

¹⁰ My further investigations in the Tati dialects spoken in the Shāhrud district of Khalkhāl revealed that they fall into two distinct groups as far as gender distinction is concerned: Shāli, Kuluri, Derowi, Gilavāni and the allied group do not make the distinction, whereas Lerdī and Karani do, as does Kajali (see BSOAS 22, 1959, 52ff. 23, 1960, 279 ff.).

¹¹ *-k* tends to be voiced.

¹² Further study may reveal a more widely spread distinction of gender in the Central dialects than was generally assumed; see now G. Morgenstierne, 'Feminine nouns in *-a* in Western Iranian dialects' in A Locust's Leg, 203-208. Vafsi fem. words, marked by an unstressed *-a* (a point which has escaped Dr. Moghdam, Iran Kudeh 11, 135) agree almost exactly with those of S. Tati; cf. S. Kia, Guyeš-e Aštian, Tehran 1956.

¹³ The authentic Tati pl. signs, *-e* and *-ān* (dir. and obl.) are seen, however, in Vafsi, o. c. 119.

case endings: *Hasan da* 'give to H.', *bējün*¹⁴ *borāyā* 'bring ye food', *jaxmo*¹⁵ *āvan* 'throw [open] the quilt', *jema zania-de āgir* 'take from this woman'.

Vidari, however, has preserved a single case ending -i¹⁶, which is used for the definite direct object: *u zāk-i šir āda* 'nurse that boy!', *am kanek-i bezan* 'hit this girl', *am gušt-i nāxorema* '[I] don't eat this meat' (but *a gušt nāxorema* 'I don't eat meat'). By extension, this ending is used with pronouns as well: *demun-i beber* 'take me along', *deju-y ni-mān kōštey* 'we have not killed him' *am-i/u-y beber* 'carry away this/that'¹⁷.

The obl. form of nouns in -i¹⁷, common in Tati dialects, is absent from Alviri and Vidari¹⁸.

Both dialects make use of the *ezāfa* for possession: Alv. *raxt-e mā-y bašur* 'wash your mother's clothes'; Vid. *kic demun besutey* 'my house is burnt'.

For other noun relationships, post-positions are generally employed, e.g. Alv. *Hasan-bā bavāj* 'tell H.', *Hasan-bā baša* 'go with H.', *kenaku-de āgir* 'take from the girl', *jem-rā bapac* 'cook for this one'; Vid. *kanek-rā hāda* 'give to the girl', *tetey xodum-bejā eberum* 'I take you (sing.) along with me', *dejum-bejā beš* 'go with this one', *dejum-de vargir* 'take from this'¹⁹.

Pronouns

Generally three types of personal pronouns occur in the two dialects: direct, oblique and enclitic. A secondary form of the obl. pron. (possessive) with *de-* has developed in both dialects²⁰. In Vidari the use of the latter has greatly expanded, overshadowing the original obl. pronouns.

Dir.	Alv.	<i>az</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>u/ua</i> ²¹	<i>jemā</i>	<i>šemā</i>	<i>unehā</i>
„	Vid.	<i>a</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>jime</i>	<i>šime</i>	<i>uā</i>
Obl.	Alv.	<i>men</i>	<i>ta</i> ²²	<i>ju</i>	<i>jemā</i>	<i>šemā</i>	<i>jūnehā</i>
„	Vid.	<i>demun</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>jime</i>	<i>šime</i>	<i>jua/uo</i> ²³

¹⁴ A conventional word meaning dinner, food, from *bējünden* to chew.

¹⁵ This should come from **jāme-xow* 'bed-clothes'; cf. Nai. *jōm khōā!* Bettzeug, *jōmā*, *jōm*, 'clothes', Mann-Hadank, Kurdisch-pers. Forsch. III 3, 149, 158.

¹⁶ The vowel varies between [i] and [e].

¹⁷ Cf. BSOAS 22, 1959, 57.

¹⁸ In Esh., which in many ways links Alv. to Rāmandi, the obl. in -r occurs only in *zena-r* 'wife' and *xuāka-r* 'sister', whereas in other S. Tati dialects it has a much wider application, generally crossing the boundary of nouns denoting family relationship.

¹⁹ But notice also the use of Persian prepositions in Vid.: *az zāk hāgir* 'take from the boy', *be dādām bavāj* 'tell my father'.

²⁰ Cf. a similar development in Vaf. *tamen*, *tān*, *tawān*, *tānān*. That these are widely used as general obl. pronouns can be inferred from the examples of M. Moghdam, o.c. 113, 117-19.

²¹ Masc. and fem. respectively.

²² Noticeable is the absence of an *ešte* type, common in S. Tati, and seen also in Vaf. *ešda*.

²³ A remnant of the older obl. pronouns. ? Cf. Shālīāvan, Nowkiāni (a conservative Tati dialect in Uppar Tārom) *avon*.

Poss.	Alv.	<i>demen</i> ²⁴					
„	Vid.	<i>demun</i>	<i>tete</i>	<i>deju</i>	<i>jime</i>	<i>šime</i>	<i>dejuā</i>
Encl.	Alv.	<i>-m</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-š</i>	<i>-mun</i>	<i>-yun</i>	<i>-šun</i>
	Vid.	<i>-m</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-š</i>	<i>-mān</i>	<i>-yān</i>	<i>-šān</i>

In Vidari the use of the *de*-form and non-*de*-form obl. pronouns does not seem to be clearly delimited. Although only the *de*-forms are used as poss. pronouns and adjs., they alternate frequently with the obl. in obl. cases and even sometimes with the dir. pronouns. Examples: as poss., *am demuniy*, *teteyye*, *dejuyya*, etc. 'this is mine, thine, his', etc. (the single Alv. example is also a poss. pron.: *am demena* 'this is mine'²⁵); *dejuā cowrā lāqara* 'their sheep is lean'; as obl., *kic debu* 'his house', *tete-y xodum-bejā eberum* 'I take thee with me', *deju-bejā beš* 'go with him', *deju-de vargir* 'take from that'; alternating, *deju/na-rā bavāj* 'tell him', *pure tete/te* 'your son', *deju-y/u-y beber* 'take him along'.

One may assume that the *de*-forms were first developed as poss. pronouns²⁶, after the *j*-forms, which, originally, had also been poss. pronouns, had tended to become generalized as common obl. pronouns²⁷. But later the *de*-forms themselves became generalized, with some trace of their original sense preserved, nonetheless.

The enclitic pronouns, as in Tati, are used as poss. and obl. pronouns, and in particular as the agent in a passive construction. The position of these pronouns, however, brings Alviri and Vidari more in line with the southern Central dialects²⁸. When the verb has an object, or an adverb, the enclitic pron. is attached to one of them; but when there is neither, it follows, not the verb (as in S. Tati in general), but the verbal prefix, irrespective of whether the prefix is conjugational or part of the stem. The only exception is made in the case of the Present and Imperfect prefix, which follows the enclitic. Examples: Alv. *azira tira-m* (fem.) *bāšind* 'yesterday I fired a shot', but *be-m āšind* 'I threw, shot', *o-m*²⁹ *dā*, *ā-y dā*, *ā-š dā* 'I, thee, he gave', *ā-y gerati* 'you have bought (sing.)', *ta b-i vanda bu* 'you had shot', *o-mun karda* 'we opened', *d-em dard ešima*, *d-i dard ešiey*, *de-š dard ešu* 'I was, you were, he was going'³⁰.

The exceptional case stated above is exemplified by *-e(t)*, the Pres. and Impf. prefix. Alv. *em-et-āšin* 'I was throwing'; *eš-et-āšin* 'he was throwing'; *i-e-gusta*

²⁴ I have recorded *demen* only once; my notes afford no evidence as to whether other persons have a *de*-form.

²⁵ Also *demun-a*.

²⁶ Cf. Pers. *az man*, *az to*, etc. 'mine, thine', etc.; *de-*, *da-*, generally used as a post-position, means 'from, in'.

²⁷ Cf. *cemen*, *ešte*, *ca* forms in Taleshi and Tati, Henning, TPhSoc, 1954, 161; Yarshater BSOAS 23, 281. The passing of the possessive into general obl. pronouns is widespread in S. Tati; cf. Čāli Esh. *cemen* 'me', Tākestāni *jana*, Esh. *juin*, Čāli *jaya*, 'their, them'. See also Christensen, Le dialecte de sāmnān, 267.

²⁸ The 2nd pers. sing. and pl. *-i*, *-yun* in Alv. are in keeping with S. Tati; in the region Kāshān - Esfehān - Yazd *-d*, *-dun* forms are common. Vaf., however, has kept to *-i* and *-iān*.

²⁹ The prefix *ā-* is rounded by the nasal.

³⁰ Cf. Vaf. *dar-om-gaste* 'I bit', etc., Moghdam, o.c. 110; Nai. *mī dēr-om-khus* 'I threw', Mann-Hadank, o.c. 133.

bašey 'you wanted to go'; the prefix being regarded as an integral part of the verb.

This position is alien to Tati, but common in southern Central dialects, cf. Khun. *izh bāvdī* 'he said', Nat. *i-khus* 'he threw', Sivandi *ish vurd* 'he brought', Kohrudi *m-ā'ī* 'I want', etc.³¹

The verb *gu-/gust-* 'to want (to)' takes the enclitic pronouns in all its tenses: Alv. *em-e-gua bašema* 'I want to go', *eš-e-gua* 'he wants to', *b-i gua* 'want!', *i-e-gusta bašey* 'you wanted to go (sing.)'. Vid. examples are: *ārd-om ken* 'I ground [the cereal] (lit. I made flour)', *tir dur-um ven* 'I shot the shot far', *biz sar-eš bi-m brin* 'I cut the goat's head (past)', *hā-m get* 'I took, bought', *bi-m ven* 'I shot'.

Verbs

The verbal system of Alviri and Vidari follows the general pattern of the Central dialects: it uses a present and a past stem, the latter based on an old participle in *-ta*, for present and past tenses respectively; and employs the passive construction for past transitive verbs.

In Alviri a single set of personal endings is used for past and present tenses³². They are: *-em(a)*, *-i*, *-a/-ia* (masc. and fem.), *-un(a)*, *-āyā*, *-enda*. Vidari, on the other hand, has two somewhat different sets of endings for present and past tenses³³: pres., *-um(e)*, *-i*, *-e*, *ān(e)*, *-iā*, *-en*; past, *-um*, *-i*, nil, *-iān(e)*, *-iā* *-ien*.

The distinction of tenses and moods is facilitated by the use of conjugational prefixes: stressed *ba-*, *be-*³⁴ for the Imperative, the Subjunctive and the Preterite; unstressed *be-* for the Perfect which adds *-i* (*-y* after a vowel) before the endings; and *-e(t)* for the Present and the Imperfect. When the verbal stem includes a prefix, the *ba-*, *be-* is dropped; examples: Alv. *ba-vin* 'see!', *ba-vazema* '(that) I run', *ba-suta* 'it burnt', *ba-suti* 'it is burnt', *b-omi bima* 'I had come'; but *ā-vendar* 'stay, stand up!', *ā-vendarema* '(that) I stand up', *ā-vendardeyma* 'I stood'; Vid. *beš* 'go', *bi-m brin* 'I cut (past)', *be-vešti* 'you run (past)', *bi-m varda bu* 'I had shot'; but *hā-gir* 'take!', *hā-š da* 'he gave'.

The Present and the Imperfect take the prefix *e-*: Alv. *e-vazema* 'I run, am running', *e-šnavuna* 'we hear', *e-šima* 'I used to go, was going', *e-šāyā* 'you used to go', (*nun-em*) *e-xuārda* 'I used to eat'; Vid. *e-venen* 'they throw', *ma:lum e-ba* 'it becomes known'. In a plain (uncompounded) stem with an initial vowel, *-t-* in Alv. and *-tt-* in Vid. appear after *e-*: Alv. *et-āyma* 'I come, am coming', *tira-m et-āšinda* 'I was shooting'; Vid. *ett-āyen* 'they come'. If the stem has a prefix, then *e-* is placed after the prefix in Alviri, and if the prefix is a vowel, *e-* appears as *-y-* (this is a phonetic rule which is applicable whenever a word

³¹ See Mann-Hadank, o.c. 16, 18, 111, 137, 226, 245; Zhukowsky, Materialij I, 115; Andreas-Christensen, Iranische Dialektaufzeichnungen 86; Lambton, Three Persian Dialects 46; Moghdam, o.c. 113.

³² As is the case in Jowsheqāni, Lambton, o.c. 45.

³³ Similar to those of Vafsi, Moghdam, o.c. 114-15.

³⁴ The vowel may vary owing to assimilation or stress. In Alv. it is generally *ba-*.

ending in a vowel comes in close contact with this *e-* or the *-e* of the *ešāfa*): *ā-y-vendarema* 'I stay, I am staying', *ē-y-pācona* 'we scatter, winnow', *nun-em ā-y-gerate* 'I was buying bread', *ē-y-gurema* 'I lift'; cf. *ne-y-duna* 'we don't give', *māle-y-zanuna* 'we level off with shovel (Lit. strike [with] shovel)', *patle-y-karuna* 'we make groats'³⁵. Vidari, however, drops the *-e* when the stem includes a preverb: *ā-xāzem* 'I want', *hā-dume* 'I give'³⁶.

The Passive Voice. Alviri makes use of an old passive form in *-i*, common among the Tati dialects³⁷: *andene-hā gāhgāhi mār evin-i-a*, 'here (pl.) sometimes snake[s] are seen (sing.)' *dōzd bagiriasta* 'the thief was siezed', *i sari badiasta* (sic) 'a head was seen' (cf. *-š badi* 'he saw'), *agar yegu dōzd begiria begua šoka bidār bey* 'if you want the thief to be siezed, you must remain (lit. be) awake', *haru tira etāšinia* 'every day shots are fired (sing.)'.

No examples of this or the Meimei form³⁸ of the passive could be obtained from my Vidari informant.

ALVIRI TEXTS

I-A poem³⁹

mohammad etā darā be-darā,
zahrā-rā gušvārā, xeftā etorā,
cašm-hā-ye siā sōrmā kōy bara ?
guš-e zahrā gušvārā kōy bara ?

zāhrā-jōn būra, vāqte alvōdā-y,
xurdēy sarbāzeš mammād bād bedāy,
dārde dēl-i ta mammād-bā evāy
ū ke eš nōrdi qēssa ēxuāra

Translation:

Mohammad travels⁴⁰ [from] valley to valley,
He brings for Zahrā ear-ring[s] and necklace[s],
What need have black eyes for collyrium ?
What need has Zahrā for ear-ring[s] ?

³⁵ The use of *e-*, *et-*, *t-* and their variations for the Present and the Imperfect is common in southern Central dialects, cf. Morgenstierne, Hdb. der Orientalistik IV, 1, 165; Mann-Hadank, o.c. 15-6. An explanation of a few rare forms in Esh.: *em-vaze* 'he runs', *em-vašte* 'he was running', *em-bu* 'he used to be', beside the common form *mi-vaze*, etc. may be found in the combination of the above *e-* and *mi-*.

³⁶ From Vid. *var-e-girume* 'I lift' (*vargir* 'lift!') one may infer that *e-* is retained if the prefix ends in a consonant; but this is the only example of its kind I have recorded.

³⁷ Cf. BSOAS 23, 1960, 283.

³⁸ Lambton, o.c. 10, 47.

³⁹ Quoted by Sheikh Musā.

⁴⁰ Lit. 'commes'.

Come, dear Zahrā, it is the time for parting,
 Mohammad has thrown to the wind his soldiers' trifles.
 You are telling your woes⁴¹ to Mohammad,
 [But] he who has not brought anything is grieved.

II-A poem⁴²

xōnōkā-y āfšan-i, váqute, löy bōn-i,
 qamzá-bā tó: xuāri, yó:ni ke yó:ni,

éy mah-jamála, éy lóšas-āla,
 ce-júr sár karom az ám dö sālā

qāđá-y bášema bālā-y bášema
 jaxmó bālā gir váre tá šema

howselám dá-šu, ómrem-am sár-šu
 pá-beš men rá-van, ejbāri bár-šu

šebro putín pá-y-de qamzá-bā ráy šey,
 tól-i dí-m-i röti, bón-de hālāy šey

tāblóy dé-y-zanem dáme bárey-de
 az āxér köštā ešem sáre tá-de

Translation:

There comes⁴³ the cool of the dusk, it is time for [sitting on] the edge of
 the roof,
 You swing yourself with coquetishness, giving yourself airs⁴⁴.

O, beauty, O, red-lipped one⁴⁵
 How shall I pass these two years⁴⁶?

May I bear the brunt of your misfortune⁴⁷!
 Lift up the quilt, [so that] I get near you.

⁴¹ Lit. 'heart's ache'.

⁴² Composed by Mr. Mehdi Movahhed, some 25 years ago, and quoted by Mr. Amir-Sayyāfi, my obliging host.

⁴³ Lit. 'it is'.

⁴⁴ Lit. 'it means that it means', a Persian colloquial idiom, current also in many villages.

⁴⁵ A fem. compound; -s is not clear to me.

⁴⁶ Referring to the two years of the military service, introduction of which in Persian villages, and its attending circumstances, are reflected in many village poems and songs.

⁴⁷ Lit. 'may I go your destiny, may I go your affliction[s]'.
 the roof,

I am bored, and my life has come to an end⁴⁸.

Get up [and] send me⁴⁹ on [my] way, the recruits are going away⁵⁰.

[With] leather⁵¹ shoes on your feet, you walk with coquetishness,
 You have poured you locks on your face [and] are climbing up the roof.

I will post a notice⁵² at your door:

„In the end I will be⁵³ killed on your behalf”.

III-gandem bekašten

(Cultivating wheat)

bahār-da zemín cahār dafa šóxm ezanóna^{52a}. sa: rína erijóna. avvale pāiz-de u zemín okā-y-dona^{52b}. hámínke go omú tóxm epācóna, érinóna. ba: d mālē-y-zanóna. ba: d az mālā bezindén, marz ekišóna. ba: d hámintowr emína tā ímmā⁵³. ba: d šörú karona okā-dāndén tā avvale tabestón. bíst ruz óka ne-y-dona tā gandém xōšk-ā-beya. hámínke xōšk-ā-bu deróna ekarona, ebarón xarmín ekaron. ba: d janjál de-y- bandon, xarmen ekunon. hámínke xarmen bakuniastā, šanía-hā ō-y-pācon tā gandem káh-da jōdā babeya. hámínke gandem xub sáf-ā-bú va káh-da jōdā babú, kám e-y-vanona, gandém-eš ō-y-girona etöróna. ba: d ju gandém pātanín-bā ā-y-zanóna tā xúb pák-ā-beya, ría-š bágiria. ú vaxtak íka ju gandém-de patlé-y-kanóna. cánd men-eš-an kōta-gandém ekarona, va beqádre xárjemun ebaróna āsiq-de etöróna⁵⁴, kandulē-y-rijona. ezón har haftá árd bar-etorona, laké-y-rejona, xamír ālinóna⁵⁴. hámínke xamir törš-ā-bú, tána-da de-y-bandona. ezón bár-eteron⁵⁵, kút ekerona, váqte nāhār o šóma agar xōšk-ā-bi beyá kami nám ezanona, exuāróna.

Trans. In the spring we plough the land four times; [then] we pour fertilizer [on the field]. In the beginning of the autumn we water (lit. give water) that land. As soon as it becomes suitable for the oxen (lit. 'comes to ox', i.e. gets half dry) we scatter the seed [and] we drive [the ploughshare on it]. Then we level [it] off by shovel (lit. we strike shovel). After levelling it off by shovel, we make raised bank[s] (lit. we draw the boundry[s]). Then it remains like this for a month. Then we begin watering [the land] til the beginning of the summer. [Then for] twenty days we do not give water, so that the wheat become dry. As soon as it became dry, we reap [it], we carry [it, and] stack [it]. Then we fasten

⁴⁸ Lit. both verbs are past.

⁴⁹ Lit. 'throw me'.

⁵⁰ Lit. 'went out'.

⁵¹ French-Persian.

⁵² Lit. 'go'.

^{52a} -o- of the 1st pers. pl. ending ranges between [o] and [u].

^{52b} okā- is oka + the preverb (h)ā-.

⁵³ cf. bāra 'weigh!', et-ārema 'I weigh', be-m-ārdi 'I have weighed'.

⁵⁴ ālvin 'knead!', ālvinden 'to knead'.

⁵⁵ eteron, etoron, eteron and etöron alternate. No attempt has been made to phonemize the texts completely.

the threshing machine, [and] thresh the corn. As soon as the corn is threshed (lit. was threshed), we winnow [it] with winnowing fork, so that the wheat becomes separated from the chaff. When the wheat became well clean, and became separated from the chaff, we sift [it] (lit. we throw sift), take up the wheat, [and] bring [it to the house]. Then we toss up that wheat with wooden tray[s], so that it becomes well clean, [and] its sand is taken [away]. Then we make white wheat (i.e. wheat with the skin taken off, used in soups and stews; Pers. *balqur*) with a little of that, and we make groats (lit. beaten wheat), too, [with] a few *mans* of it, and we carry [some] according to our need into the mill, [then] we weigh [the flour], [and] pour [it] in grain-bin[s]. Then each week we take out [some] flour, pour [it] in the dough-tub [and] knead it. When the dough is leavened (lit. becomes sour), we stick it in the oven. Then we take [it] out [and] heap up [the bread]. In lunch and dinner times, if it should have become dry, we moist [it] a little [and] we eat [it].

VIDARI TEXTS

I-jālīz ēkārāna

(We sow [in] melon ground[s])

avvāl ba:d az éyd zemīni šóxm ékenāna⁵⁶. panjā ruz eyd-de bād zemīni ów-ādāna⁵⁷. hárvax gów bāmō, tóxme handevāné va xercé epācāna. do-bārē héy ekerāna va mālē ezenān, va mārē ekšāna; tā dá: ruz behār-da bemāndén ów-hādāna, tā handevāné, xercé béresa. ba:dán éccenāna éttārāna.

Trans. First, after *Now-Rooz* (21 of March) we plough the land. Fifty days after *Now-Rooz* we water the plot. When it became ready for oxen (lit. came to ox), we scatter the seed[s] of watermelon and melon. Again we mingle [it] and level it off by shovel (lit. strike shovel), and raise bank[s] (lit. draw boundary) until ten days to the spring. [Then] we water [the plot], until the watermelon and melon ripen. Then we pick [them] and bring [them home].

II

a avvél hāzer né-bum estexdām bēbuma. Aqāye Fallāhī demún-bejā nesbēti-š edēšt. demūni estexdām bi-š-kend. bandé bēšum Tehrān, xodeme dabirestāne Tabātabāī moarrefi bi-m-kend. nómā uvān-de kār-em kend. ta'tilī-de bāmum dié. bād dié bēšume Tehrān. bād bāmum Alvīr.

sob sahār-da éšuma madresé, mašqúl ebume dārs āvājum. nīm sāat dirāne be-cāšt éttāma kiā. dó ba:d az zór vāgerdum madresa.

Trans. First I was not willing to enter the civil service. Mr. F. had a [family] relationship with me. He employed me [as a civil servant]. I went to Tehran

⁵⁶ -a is a close one, nearing [ε]

⁵⁷ i.e. -hā-dān-.

and] reported myself to T. secondary school. I worked there for nine months. During holidays I went to [my] village. Then I went [back] from the village to Tehran. Then I came to Alvīr.

Early in the morning [each day] I go to the school [and] get busy teaching (lit. I give lesson). [When] we have half an hour to lunch[-time] I go (lit. come) home, [and] I return to the school two hours past noon.

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